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THE PRINCIPLE OF GREATER ASIA

Lecture delivered by Sun Yst-sen at the Kobe Girls' School on November 28, 1924 in behalf of the Kobe Chamber of Commerce and five other organizations

Ladies and Gentlemen: I am very deeply impressed by such a warm welcome as I have received from you today. Today you have requested me to give a lecture on what is known as Asianism. Now before I go on to speak on this subject it is necessary for us to clearly understand what sort of place our Asia is.

Our Asia is the cradle of the oldest culture; that is, as early as several thousand years ago the Asiatics had already possessed an exceedingly advanced culture while the culture of the oldest countries of Europe, such as Greece or Rome, had been transplanted there from our Asia. And our Asia has had from the days of the remote past various cultures, philosophical, religious, moral and industrial. All these cultures have proved very remarkable in the world and the newest culture of the modern world has come down from this old culture of ours. In spite of all this, the peoples and nations of our Asia have gradually been on the decline during the past several hundred years. On the contrary, European peoples have made steady progress in the meantime to grow to be powerful nations. As they grew increasingly powerful their power has gradually come to be felt in the Orient to such an extent that they might severely oppress or even destroy the peoples and nations of our Asia. Because of this continued oppression, there had been not one country in our Asia until thirty years ago which enjoyed perfect independence. If this state of oppression had continued longer, the international situation would have grown much more entangled and difficult.

We know, however, that out of the worst situation comes a peaceful reign when it comes to a head; that is, it is a long lane that has no turning. Asia experienced a turning point when its decline had reached its culmination. This turning point was nothing but the starting point of the re-building of Asia. True indeed, that Asia saw its decline once but experienced the first

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We know, however, that out of the worst situation comes a peaceful reign when it comes to a head; that is, it is a long lane that has no turning. Asia experienced a turning point when its decline had reached its culmination. This turning point was nothing but the starting point of the re-building of Asia. True indeed, that Asia saw its decline once but experienced the first



sign of its revival thirty years ago. What then is the starting point of the revival? Thirty years ago Japan succeeded in abolishing all her unequal treaties with foreign powers. This very day that Japan abolished her unequal treaties was the day signaling the revival of all Asiatic peoples. Japan became the first independent country of Asia when she abolished her unequal treaties but the other countries--China, India, Persia, Afghanistan, Arabia and Turkey were not yet independent countries--had suffered partition of their territory and were no better off than mere European colonies. Thirty years ago Japan too was regarded as one of the European colonies, but because of far-sightedness and knowledge of ups and downs of peoples and nations the Japanese nation was so greatly roused and so struggled with the Europeans that Japan was able to succeed in establishing an independent country of her own, abolishing all unequal treaties. With Japan becoming an independent country of the Far East, all peoples and nations have come to cherish great hopes for their own independence. Now that Japan has become independent, abolishing all unequal treaties, they have come to think that they might as well follow Japan's example. Thus they, summoning up their courage, started various movements for independence and there arose the conception that they should be the masters of Asia in trying to get themselves out of the European fetters, hating to remain European better colonies. This has been a very optimistic thought in the last thirty years.

Well, let us look back on the thought that actually prevailed thirty years ago. All peoples of all Asia thought almost with resignation that they would have to remain slaves to Europe forever, being unable to extricate themselves from the oppression, because on the one hand Europe has a highly advanced culture, has made remarkable progress in science, wonderful developments in industry, in the manufacture of elaborate arms, and enjoyed a great military strength and power; and because on the other Asia has nothing in which to surpass Europe, has not power enough to resist Europe. This thought was exceedingly pessimistic. And yet Japan had successfully abolished her unequal treaties and become an independent country thirty years ago. This fact had not

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enough effect upon Asia as a whole though the reaction on the part of peoples and nations adjacent to Japan was great. That is, the Asiatic peoples as a whole were not yet impressed so deeply. But in the course of ten years there broke out the Russo-Japanese War, which resulted in Japan's victory over Russia and the Japanese nation's victory over the Russians, which was the first victory of an Asiatic people over the Europeans in the past several hundred years. This victory of Japan's had a great effect on entire Asia, and all the Asiatic peoples were very exultant and have come to cherish very great hopes. I wish to make mention, by way of illustration, of what I myself actually observed. I happened to be in Europe in the year when the Russo-Japanese War broke out. One day we learned that Admiral TOGO had defeated the Russian Navy, that is, the Russian fleet which Russia had despatched anew from the European base to reach Vladivostok had been annihilated in the Japan Sea. When this news spread over Europe all people in Europe were in great sorrow and mourned as if they had been deprived of their parents. Britain was then in alliance with Japan but the great number of people who know the situation all frowned and said that such a great victory as won by the Japanese would never mean a blessing to the white people. This is exactly what the English saying means: "Blood is thicker than water". Again, a little later, on my way back to Asia when I passed the Suez Canal many natives--they were Arabs--looked exceedingly jubilant to see I was a member of a colored race and came up to me and asked if I was a Japanese. Answering in the negative, I told them I was a Chinese, and asked if anything had happened and why they were so jubilant. Their reply was thus: "We have very happy news. The Japanese, we heard, had destroyed the entire fleet Russia had despatched anew from Europe. Is this news true? We saw from both banks of the Canal that every and all ships passing were hurrying through to Europe with Russian wounded on board. We think this simply shows the Russians were badly defeated. In the past the colored races of East Asia were all in distress under the oppression of Western races with no hopes for the future. This victory of Japan over the Russians means that the Eastern races have beaten the Western races. The Japanese have won the war. So

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must we likewise. Could there be a greater joy than this? This is why we are so jubilant." This will show how great an effect the Japanese victory over the Russians had on all the peoples of Asia. It is perhaps true that the Asiatics in the eastern part did not take it so seriously or were not interested so keenly, but the case was quite different with the Asiatics in the western parts close to Europe. They have been in distress, constantly oppressed by Europeans from morning till night. The oppression they have suffered has been greater and their distresses have been more severe, so their joy at the news of the victory was so much greater than that of those living in the eastern parts.

Ever since Japan's victory over Russia the peoples of all Asia have started many independence movements here and there, expecting to crush out Europe. For instance, Egypt, Persia, Turkey, Afghanistan, Arabia have started movements for independence in succession and the Indians too have followed their neighbors' example. That is, the Asiatic peoples have come to cherish great hopes for independence as a result of Japan's victory over Russia. It was only twenty years ago that these hopes came to the front but Egypt, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan and Arabia have succeeded in rapid succession in establishing their independence. It is still more noteworthy that the Indian independence movement too has gradually come to make steady progress. This fact of their restoration of independence shows that the racial thought in Asia has taken long strides in recent years. When this thought progress has reached its culmination, all the Asiatic peoples will easily unite themselves and stand up as one. It will be then and then only that the independence movements of all the Asiatic peoples can succeed. In recent years the peoples in Western Asia have been on very friendly terms with each other, with exceedingly sincere feelings toward each other, so will they be able to unite themselves into one. The two great peoples in Eastern Asia are China and Japan. China and Japan are the motive power for those movements, and yet these two have taken an indifferent attitude toward each other, failing to get united as they ought to. There will sooner or later be a time when all peoples in Eastern Asia also will wish to get united together. The time is ripening for the peoples of the East.

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West, and the South to cooperate with one another so that the independence of the Asiatic peoples may be realized and the position that Asia occupied in the past may be regained.

The people of Europe and America know this tendency very well. To give an example, a certain American scholar published a book in which he discusses the rise of the colored races. The content of the book clarifies that Japan's victory over Russia means the colored races' defeat of the white. In the future when this phenomenon assumes serious dimensions there will be a possible danger that the white races will have a very hard time because all the colored races will get united against the white. The white people need now to be prepared for this before it is too late. Later, he wrote another book to contend that any and every race emancipation movement is against culture. According to this author, we must say that race emancipation movements in Asia as well as in Europe are all against culture. Such a view is shared by members of all the privileged classes in Europe, where the minority oppresses the majority within and without their national boundaries, and now they are trying to make slaves of the 900,000,000 people for themselves through oppression. They are already reaching out a sinister hand into Asia. This is a brutality indeed. We could not hate them too much. Judging from the contention of this American scholar that the awakening of the Asiatic peoples is against the world's culture, the Europeans consider themselves as the only rightful heirs to culture and pretend to be the masters of culture, believing that culture will never originate anywhere outside Europe and that independence trends are against culture, and therefore European culture is in accord with justice and humanity while Asiatic culture is not. As for the status of culture in the last one hundred years, European material civilization has greatly advanced as never elsewhere while our Oriental civilization has not shown a great advance at all. So if compared only superficially, Europe is ahead of Asia, but if closely analyzed, what has been their so-called culture in the last one hundred years? Their civilization means scientific culture and utilitarian culture. This culture when applied to human society is material civilization. By material civilization is meant airplanes and bombs, rifles and cannon--a kind of military

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culture. In recent years we Asiatics can hardly make progress because the Europeans are oppressing us solely with this military culture of theirs. European culture is that which oppresses people with military power, and this way of oppressing people with military power is expressed as "Hadō" in old Chinese, or rule of might, so European culture is the culture representing Hadō. In the Orient, however, we have long despised this Hadō culture, and we have another kind of culture that exceeds Hadō culture. The essence of this culture is humanity and justice. This culture of humanity and justice will only influence people but never oppress them; it will make people virtuous but never inspire fear in them. Such virtue-inspiring culture is called Ōdō in old Chinese, or rule of right. So Asiatic culture is the culture of Ōdō. With the development of material civilization and with the prevalence of rule of might in Europe the various countries of the world have seen a daily decline of morality. Even in Asia there have been a considerable number of countries which saw a serious decline in their morality. But in recent years some of the scholars in Europe and America interested in Oriental culture at all, have gradually come to appreciate that Oriental morality is far higher than Western morality, while Oriental material civilization is behind that of the Occident.

As to which is more advantageous after all for the promotion of justice and humanity, Ōdō culture or Hadō; or which will prove more advantageous for peoples and nations, you must have clearly seen. Here, by way of illustration, I will briefly dwell on this point. During the period of over one thousand years between 2000 years ago and 500 years ago, China was the most powerful country of the world, occupying just the same position of present-day Britain or America. Britain and America are at present powers but China in those former days was the only power. Well then, what kind of attitude did China assume toward the weaker minor peoples and countries in those days? And how did those weaker minor peoples and countries conduct themselves toward China? Those weaker minor peoples and countries, desiring to regard China as their suzerain and offer a tribute to her, all wished to be her feudal clans, regarding it an honor to offer tribute to her and considering it a

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shame not to be able to do so. The tributary countries of China then comprised not only those of Asia but also those in western Europe, which used to come a long distance to offer tribute to her. How did China at that time conduct herself in regard to the tributes of those many countries and distant peoples? Did she compel the tribute to be paid by dint of military and naval power--Hadō. No, never--China simply resorted to Ōdō, or rule of right, in exerting influence over them. They in turn appreciated China's virtue and desired to offer a tribute to her contentedly. Once they had come under the benevolent influence of her Ōdō they not only offered their tribute in their own generation but wished to continue to do so all through posterity. There are some instances even in recent years exemplifying this truth. For example, there are two small countries in northern India, one being Bhutan and the other Nepal. These two are small countries, but these peoples, being very strong and very fearless, fight most gallantly. Of the two, the people of Nepal are especially brave--so brave that Britain in governing India has decided to raise soldiers from among them, which Britain is using as tools in keeping India under her rule. Again Britain actually has power enough to destroy India, to make it her colony but can not easily behave so toward Nepal. Besides, she annually sends a great amount of money as a subsidy, and has only a number of officials stationed for political inspection there. Britain, being the most powerful country in the world today, still takes such a generous attitude toward Nepal. So Nepal may be said to be a strong country in Asia. What is the position now taken by Nepal toward Britain at present? She never offers a tribute to her, but rather takes a subsidy from Britain. China's international position is at present so low that she stands even below a British colony, and yet Nepal regards China as her suzerain even today, in spite of the great distance with the wide territory of Thibet in between; that is, as late as the first year of the Republic of China she came over by way of Thibet to pay tribute to China, but because of the traffic difficulty along the frontier she has ceased to bring tribute ever since. Thus Nepal takes an attitude toward Britain different from that taken toward China. Gentlemen! Don't you think this is strange? The mere contrast between these two

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different attitudes taken by Nepal toward China and Britain will illustrate the contrast between Eastern civilization represented by China and Western culture represented by Britain. Indeed China has declined in the last several hundred years but her culture is still in existence. So Nepal is still admiring China as her suzerain. On the contrary, Britain has now grown exceedingly strong and great, with an excellent material civilization and yet Nepal is paying no attention to this. You will know from this fact that Nepal has favorably been influenced by China, that Chinese culture is a true one and Britain's material civilization is no culture but is regarded as rule of might.

Now what I have thus far said in regard to the Greater Asia principle may briefly be summed up as the problem of culture. That is, we are to compare and contrast Eastern culture and Western. Eastern culture is *Ōdō*, or rule of right, and Western culture is *Hedō*, or rule of might. *Ōdō* upholds humanity and justice as morality while *Hedō* aims at coercion based on utilitarianism. Humanity and justice as morality will influence people by justice and truth while coercion based on utilitarianism will oppress people with rifles and cannon. From the fact that Nepal is still wishing for Chinese influence and willing to pay respect to China as her suzerain, it is evident that countries favorably influenced will never forget their suzerain even after a period of several hundred years when their suzerain has declined. On the contrary, oppressed countries will always try to sever themselves from the oppressing country however strong and prosperous the latter may be at present. This truth is shown in the relations in which Egypt and India stand toward Britain. It is true that Britain has conquered Egypt and destroyed India and she is exceedingly strong and prosperous at present, but Egypt and India are always trying to sever themselves from Britain. It is because of this that there are many independence movements started in those countries. But because of strong military oppression the independence movements are not likely to succeed so soon. But once Britain should decline, Egypt and India will restore their independent position in less than five years, immediately expelling British influence out of their territory. By

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so saying, you will know the merits and demerits of Eastern and Western culture. When we stand in such a world as this, what should be the basis on which our Greater Asia principle should be realized? Our own native culture should be the basis. By our own native culture is meant humanity and justice as morality. Humanity and justice as morality and this alone is the right kind of basis for our Greater Asia principle. Why are we trying to learn the sciences of Europe in spite of our possession of such a background? That is only because we wish to develop industry and improve weapons. In learning from Europe we do not mean to follow its examples of destroying other countries or oppressing other peoples. We simply learn for our own self-defense.

Of all Asiatic countries Japan is the only country in recent years that has learned military culture from Europe and succeeded in making it her own. Japan today need not necessarily depend on Europeans in regard to the construction and maneuvering of warships, and she is also independent in regard to the organization and operation of armies. Thus Japan is indeed one true independent country in the Far East. Here in Asia there is at present one true independent country though during the Great War she was on the side of the Entente Powers and experienced calamities with the defeat. This country is no other than Turkey. At present there are only two independent countries in Asia, one being Japan in the east and the other Turkey in the west. Japan and Turkey are two great walls in the east and west in Asia. Besides, Persia, Afghanistan and Arabia have now come to possess military power by learning from Europe and the Europeans do not dare to despise these peoples. As for Nepal, the English powerful as they are do not look down upon her. They now possess strong military power. China will prove a great force once she is well united since she has a great number of military forces at present. In order to expound the Greater Asia principle with success and restore their old position for the Asiatic peoples, it is necessary for us to unite all peoples in all parts of Asia on the basis of humanity and justice as morality so that they will eventually grow into a great force.

This, however, we must seriously remember. As for the Europeans, it would be quite impossible for us to influence them

by merely expounding humanity and justice or to demand the return of rights and concessions successfully, by resorting to amicable means. It is as if one should try to feed a tiger in order to get its fur. So if we are to get all our rights completely returned, we must appeal to military force. Well, as for military force, Japan has had a perfectly strong military force from very early days, and Turkey, too, has come to possess a strong military force in recent years. The peoples of Persia, Afghanistan and Arabia have always been strong fighters. The 400,000,000 Chinese are naturally peace-loving people but when confronted with a life-and-death struggle will show great military force. If all Asiatic peoples are united in fighting the Europeans with their natural military force, surely we shall win and never be defeated. Moreover let us compare the populations of Europe and Asia. China has 400,000,000; India 350,000,000; Burma and Annam have scores of millions together; Japan alone has scores of millions; and the rest of minor peoples will number as many as Japan. So all the people of all Asia number more than one-half of the population of the whole world while those of Europe are barely 400,000,000. And our entire population is 900,000,000. It is contradictory to justice and humanity and therefore sure to fail in the end that the 400,000,000 should oppress the 900,000,000. In recent years, however, we come across some influenced by us among those 400,000,000. Just look at the present trend of culture in the world. In Britain and America, for instance, there have begun to appear those who advocate humanity and justice as morality though they are small in number as yet. In the rest of the barbarian countries, too, there is a similar phenomenon. This fact tells that Western culture of coercion based on utilitarianism is beginning to yield to Eastern culture based on humanity and justice as morality, and it is also a proof that Hadō is going to yield to Ōdō; thus we can say that world culture is from day to day advancing toward the light.

At present in Europe there is one country which is universally despised, regarded as a poisonous snake or a ferocious animal, not as a human race, and never approached, by all the European whites. In Asia too there are a good number of people with a similar view



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of that country. What country can it be? That is Russia. Russia is now going to be a branch family of the family group of European whites. Why is Russia in such a status? That's simply because she upholds Odo, or rule of right, not Hado, or rule of might, expounds humanity and justice, not utilitarian coercion, supports the path of justice to her best ability, and does not approve of the oppression of the majority by the minority. The new culture of Russia has much in common with our traditional Eastern culture and the Russians are going to grasp our hand and set up a branch family independent of the European group of families. The Europeans are bringing a false charge against Russia as a traitor of the world because they know that the new principle of Russia does not agree with their contention, that the success of Russia's principle means the failure of their Hado. In so doing, they knowingly try to take no notice of the fact that Russia is a country pursuing the path of humanity and justice.

Finally, we come to the very problem we are trying to solve; that is, how can the oppressed Asiatic peoples successfully resist the strong and prosperous peoples of Europe--or, more briefly, how to remove inequality imposed upon the oppressed peoples. Oppressed peoples are found not only in Asia but also in Europe. Countries of rule of might oppress not only people in another continent and country but also in their own Continent and territory. When I said our Greater Asia principle should be based on Odo, I meant to insist that all these unequal discriminations should be removed. An American scholar contends that all movements for peoples' emancipation go against culture, so we can say that the culture we advocate aims at abolishing inequality and therefore it contradicts Hado culture and seeks equality and emancipation for the people. Japan on the one hand has already made the Hado culture of Europe and America her own, and on the other she is in possession of the essence of the Odo culture of Asia. Whether Japan will turn out in the future a tool of western Hado or the defender of Eastern Odo--this should be seriously considered by the Japanese people.

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Ref

大亞細亞主義

(孫文氏が民國十三年十一月二十八日神戸高等女學校ニ於テ神戸商業會議所外五國體ニ對シテナシタル講演ニ)

諸君、私ハ本日諸君ヨリ斯クノ如キ熱誠ナル歡迎ヲ受ケマシテ實ニ感激ニ堪エマセン。本日ハ皆様ヨリ亞細亞主義ト云フコトニ付テ、私ニ講演シロト云フ御話デアリマシタ。所デ此ノ問題ニ付テ講演スルニハ、我亞細亞トハドンナ所デアルカラ先ヅハツキリサセテ置カナケレバナリマセン。

我亞細亞ハ最モ古イ文化ノ發祥地デアリマス。即チ數千年以前ニ於テ既ニ我亞細亞人ハ非常ニ高イ文化ヲ持ツテ居タノデアリマシテ、歐洲最古ノ國家例ヘバ希臘、羅馬等ノ如キ古イ國ノ文化ハ何レモ我亞細亞ヨリ傳ツタモノデアリマス。又我亞細亞ハ昔ヨリ哲學ノ文化、宗教ノ文化、倫理ノ文化及工業ノ文化ヲ持ツテ居マシタ。之等ノ文化ハ何レモ古ヨリ世界デ非常ニ有名デアツタノデアリマシテ、現在世界ノ最モ新シイ文化ハ何レモ我々ノ此古イ文化ヨリ發生シタノデアリマス。然ルニ最近數百年來我亞細亞ノ民族ハ漸次萎靡シ、國家ハ次第ニ衰微シテ來マシタ。一方歐洲ノ民

族ハ漸次發展シ、國家ハ次第ニ強大トナツテ來タノデアリマス。歐洲ノ民族ガ發展シ國家ガ強大トナルニ伴レ、彼等ノ勢力ハ次第々々ニ東洋ニ侵入シ、我亞細亞ノ民族及國家ヲ漸次滅亡セシムルニ非ズンバ壓制セントスル勢トナツタノデアリマス。此ノ勢ガズツト續イタ爲、三十年以前迄ハ我亞細亞ニハ一國トシテ完全ナル獨立國家ハ無カツタノデアリマス。此ノ勢ガ更ニ續イタナラバ國際關係ハ益々面倒トナツタデアリマセウ。

然シモラ否塞ノ運命ニ極點ニ達スレバ泰平トナリ、物極マレバ必ズ通ズルノデアリマシテ、亞細亞ノ衰微ガ斯クノ如ク極點ニ達シマシタ時、ソコニ一個ノ轉換機ガ發生シマシタ。其ノ轉換機こそ即チ亞細亞復興ノ起點ヲナスモノデアリマシタ。亞細亞ハ一度ハ衰微シマシタガ、三十年前ニ再ビ復興シ來ツタノデアリマス。然ラバ此ノ復興ノ起點ハ一體何處ニ在リマシタカト云フニ、夫レハ即チ、日本ガ三十年前ニ、外國ト締結シマシタ一切ノ不平等條約ヲ撤廢シマシタコトデアリマス。日本ノ不平等條約撤廢ノ其ノ



日コソ、我亞細亞全民族復興ノ日デアツタノデアリマス。日本ハ  
不平等條約ヲ撤廢シマシタノデ、遂ニ亞細亞ニ於ケル最初ノ獨立  
國家トナツタノデアリマスガ、當時其ノ他ノ國家、則チ中國、印  
度、波斯、「アフガニスタン」、「アラビヤ」及土耳其等ハ何レ  
モ未ダ獨立ノ國家デハナク、歐洲ヨリ勝手ニ領土ヲ割カレ、歐洲  
ノ殖民地トナツテ居タノデアリマス。三十年前ニ於テハ日本モ亦  
歐洲ノ殖民地ト目サレテ居タノデアリマスガ、日本ノ國民ハ先見  
ノ明ガアリ、民族ト國家トノ榮枯盛衰ノ關係ヲ知ツテ居マシタノ  
デ、大イニ覺悟シテ歐洲人ト闘ヒ、凡ユル不平等條約ヲ廢除シ、  
遂ニ獨立國ト爲ツタノデアリマス。日本ガ東亞ニ於ケル獨立國ト  
ナリマシテカラハ、亞細亞全體ノ國家及民族ハ、獨立ニ對シ大ナ  
ル希望ヲ抱イテ來タノデアリマス。即チ、日本デサヘ不平等條約  
ヲ廢棄シテ獨立シタノデアルカラ、吾々モ當然日本ニ倣ハネバナ  
ラナイト云フ考ヲ持ツヤウニナリマシタ。之レヨリ勇氣ヲ出シテ  
種々ノ獨立運動ヲ起シ、歐洲人ノ束縛ヨリ離脱セントシ、歐洲ノ

殖民地タルヲ欲セズ、亞細亞ノ主人公トナラウト云フ思想が生レ  
タノデアリマス。之ハ最近三十年來ノ考デ、極メテ樂觀的ノ思想  
デアリマシタ。

三十年以前ニ於キマシテハ、我亞細亞全體ノ民族ハ、歐洲ハ非  
常ニ進歩シタ文化ヲ有シ、科學モ非常ニ進歩シ、工業モ非常ニ發  
達シテ居リ、武器ハ精巧デアリ、兵力ハ強大デアル。然ルニ我亞  
細亞ハ歐洲ニ長ジテ居ルモノハ一ツモ無イ、亞細亞ハ歐洲ニ到底  
抵抗出來ナイ、歐洲ノ壓迫ヨリ脱出スルコトモ到底出來ナイ、永  
久ニ歐洲ノ奴隷トナラナケレバナナイダロウ、ト云フ風ニ考ヘ  
テ居タノデアリマス。即チ非常ニ悲觀的ノ思想デアツタノデアリ  
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マシタ。然シ夫レハ日本ト非常ニ接近シテ居ル民族、國家ニハ大  
ナル影響ヲ與ヘマシタモノノ、當時ハホダ亞細亞全體ニハ充分ノ  
反響ハ無カツタノデアリマス。即チ亞細亞民族ハ全體的ニハ夫レ  
程大ナル感動ヲ受ケナカツタノデアリマス。然シ乍ラ夫レヨリ十



年ヲ過ギテ日露戦争が起リ、其ノ結果日本が露國ニ勝チ日本人ガ  
 露西亞人ニ勝ツタ。之ハ最近數百年間ニ於ケル亞細亞民族ノ歐洲  
 人ニ對スル最初ノ勝利デアッタノデアリマス。此ノ日本ノ勝利ハ  
 全亞細亞ニ影響ヲ及ボシ、亞細亞全體ノ民族ハ非常ニ歡喜シ、ソ  
 シテ極メテ大ナル希望ヲ抱クニ至ツタノデアリマス。此ノ事ニ付  
 テ私が親シク見マシタ事ヲ御話シ申上ゲマセウ。日露戦争ノ開始  
 サレマシタ年、私ハ丁度歐洲ニ居リマシタガ、或ル日東郷大將ガ  
 露國ノ海軍ヲ敗ツタ、露西亞ガ新ニ歐洲ヨリ滯留ニ派遣シタ陸隊  
 ハ、日本海ニ於テ全滅サレタト云フコトヲ聞キマシタ。此ノ報道  
 ガ歐洲ニ傳ハルヤ、全歐洲ノ人民ハ恰モ父母ヲ失ツタ如クニ悲ミ  
 憂ヘタノデアリマス。英國ハ日本ト同盟國デアリマシタガ、此ノ  
 消息ヲ知ツタ大多數ハ何レモ眉ヲ蹙メ日本ガ斯クノ如キ大勝利ヲ  
 博シタコトハ決シテ白人種ノ幸福ヲ意味スルモノデハナイト思ッ  
 タノデアリマス。之ハ正ニ英語デ *Blood is thicker than water*  
 ト云フ觀念デアリマス。暫クシテ私ハ前デ亞細亞ニ歸ルコトニ

リ、「スエズ」運河ヲ通リマス時ニ、澤山ノ土人ガ、其ノ土人ハ  
 「アラビヤ」人デアリマシタガ、私ガ貴色人種デアリマスノヲ見  
 テ非常ニ喜ビ勇シダ様子デ私ニ「オ前ハ日本人カ」ト問ヒカケマ  
 シタ。私ハ「ソウデハアイ、私ハ中國人ダ。何カ有ツタノカ、ド  
 ウシテソナニ喜ンデ居ルノカ」ト問ヒマシタ所ガ、彼等ノ答ハ  
 「俺達ハ今度非常ニ喜バシイ」「ニュース」ヲ得タ。何デモ日本ハ  
 露西亞ガ新ニ歐洲ヨリ派遣シタ海軍ヲ全滅サセタト云フコトヲ聞  
 イタ。此ノ話ハ本當力。俺達ハ此ノ運河ノ兩側ニ居テ、露西亞ノ  
 負傷兵ガ船毎ニ歐洲ニ送還サレテ行クノヲ見タ。之ハ必定露西亞  
 ノ大敗シタ證據ダト思フ。以前ハ吾々東亞ノ有色人種ハ、何レモ  
 西方民族ノ壓迫ヲ受ケ苦痛ヲ嘗メテ居テ、全ク浮ブ氣ガ無カツタ  
 ダガ、此ノ度日本ガ露西亞ニ勝ツタト云フコトハ東方民族ガ西方  
 民族ヲ打敗ツタコトニナル。日本人ハ戦争ニ勝ツタ。吾々モ同様  
 ニ勝タナケレバナラナイ。之レコソ歡喜シナケレバナラナイコト  
 デハナイカ。ダカラ吾々ハコンナニ喜ンデ居ルノダ」ト云フコト



デアツタ。之ヲ見マシテモ日本ガ露國ヲ打敗ツタコトハ、亞細亞  
 民族全體ニ如何ニ大ナル影響ヲ與ヘタカト云フコトガ解ル。日本  
 ガ露國ヲ敗ツタト云フコトハ、東方ニ居タ亞細亞人ハ、或ハ余  
 リ重視シテカッタカモ知レアイシ、又余リ感興ヲ引カナカッタ  
 カモ知レナイガ、西方ニ居タ亞細亞人及歐洲ニ近接シテ居タ亞細  
 亞人ハ、常ニ歐洲人カラ壓迫ヲ受ケテ終日苦痛ヲ嘗メ、而モ彼等  
 ノ受ケル壓迫ハ、東方ニ居ル亞細亞人ヨリモ更ニ大デアリ、其ノ  
 苦痛ハ更ニ深刻デアツタ爲ニ、彼等ガ此ノ敗戦ノ報道ヲ聞イテ喜  
 シタコトハ、我々東方人ヨリモ一層大キカッタデアリマス。  
 日本ガ露國ニ勝ツテカラハ、亞細亞全體ノ民族ハ、歐洲ヲ打  
 破ラウト考ヘ、盛ニ獨立運動ヲ起シマシタ。即チ埃及、波斯、土  
 耳古、「アフガニスタン」、「アラビヤ」等ガ相繼イテ獨立運動  
 ヲ起シ、繼テ印度人モ獨立運動ヲ起ス様ニナリマシタ。即チ日本  
 ガ露國ニ勝ツタ結果、亞細亞民族ガ獨立ニ對スル大ナル希望ヲ抱  
 クニ至ツタデアリマス。此ノ希望ガ生レテカラ今日迄二十年ニ

過ギマセンガ、埃及、土耳其、波斯、「アフガニスタン」及「アラビヤ」等ノ獨立ガ相繼イテ實現シタ許リデナク、印度ノ獨立運動モ亦漸次發展シテ參リマシタ。之等ノ獨立ノ事實ハ、亞細亞ノ民族思想ガ最近進歩シテ來タコトヲ示スモノデアリマス。此ノ思想ノ進歩ガ極點ニ達シタ時、亞細亞全民族ハ容易ニ聯合シテ起ツコトガ出來、其ノ時こそ亞細亞全民族ノ獨立運動ハ成功スルノデアリマス。亞細亞ノ西部ニ居ル各民族ハ、近來相互ニ非常ニ親密ナ交際ヲ續ケ、又非常ニ眞面目ア感情ヲ持ツ様ニナツテ來マシタカラ、彼等ハ容易ニ聯合出來ルノデアリマス。亞細亞東部ノ最大ノ民族ハ中國ト日本トデアリマス。中國ト日本トハ、斯ル運動ノ原動力ヲナスモノデアリマスガ、此ノ頃デハ兩國トモ互ニ我不關焉ノ態度ヲ採ツテ居ル爲、今尙十分ナル聯絡ガ取レテ居ナイノデアリマス。然シ乍ラ將來我々亞細亞ノ東部ニ居リマス各民族ニモ必ズ聯絡シヨウトスル氣運ガ働イテ參リマセウ。此ノ東西南部ノ民族ガ、相互ニ提携シヨウトスル趨勢ヲ作ラントスル所以ハ、實



ニ亞細亞民族ノ獨立ヲ實現センガ爲デアリ、吾々亞細亞ガ從來持ツテ居タ地位ヲ恢復センガ爲デアリマス。

歐米人ハ斯ル趨勢ヲ十分ニ知ツテ居リマス。ダカラ米國ノ或ル學者ノ如キハ會テ一冊ノ本ヲ著ハシテ有色人種ノ興起ヲ論ジタコトガアリマス。其ノ本ノ内容ハ日本ガ露國ニ勝ツタコトハ、黃色人種ガ白色人種ヲ打敗ツタ事テアル。將來此ノ現象ガ擴大サレタナラバ、有色人種ハ何レモ聯合シテ白色人種ニ双向ヒ來リ、之ガ爲ニ暗イ目ニ道ハサレルデアラワカラ、白人ハ豫メ注意シナケレバナラナイト云フ意味ノモノデアリマス。彼ハ後ニ更ニ一冊ノ本ヲ著シ、一切ノ民族解放運動ハ、凡ベテ文化ニ背反スル運動デアルト言ツテ居リマス。彼ノ主張ニ依レバ、歐洲ニ於ケル民族解放運動ハ固ヨリ、亞細亞ノ民族解放運動モ亦文化ニ背反シテ居ルト云ハネバナリマセン。斯ル思想ハ歐洲ニ於ケル一切ノ特殊階級ノ人々ガ、何レモ同ジク抱イテ居ル所ノモノデ、彼等ハ少數ノ人ヲ以テ歐洲及自國內ノ多數ノ人々ヲ壓制シテ居リ、更ニ其ノ毒牙ヲ

亞細亞ニ迄擴張シ、我九億ノ民族ヲ壓迫シテ、彼等少數人ノ奴隷トナサントシテ居ルノデアリマス。之レ實ニ慘酷極マルモノデアリ、惜ンデモ尙餘リ有ルモノデアリマス。而シテ此ノ米國ノ學者ガ、亞細亞民族ノ覺醒ヲ世界ノ文化ニ對スル背反デアルト言ツテキル所カラ見マスレバ、歐洲人ハ自ラ文化傳授ノ正統派ト爲シ、自ラ文化ノ主人公ヲ氣取ツテ居リ、從ツテ歐洲以外ニ文化ガ發生シ、獨立思想ガ起ルコトヲ文化ノ背反ト爲シテ居ルノデアリマス。故ニ彼等ハ歐洲ノ文化ハ正義人道ニ合致スルモノデアリ、亞細亞ノ文化ハ正義人道ニ合致シナイモノデアルト考ヘテ居ルノデアリマス。最近數百年ノ文化ノ狀態ニ付テ觀マスレバ、歐洲ノ物質文明ハ極度ニ發達シテ居リ、我東洋ノ文明ハ何等大ナル進歩ヲ示シテ居リマセン。從ツテ之ヲ單ニ表裏的ニ比較致シマスレバ歐洲ハ東洋ニ優ツテ居リマス。然シ根本的ニ之ヲ解剖シマスレバ、歐洲ニ於ケル最近百年來ノ文化ハ如何アルモノデアリマセウカ。彼等ノ文明ハ科學ノ文化デアリ、功利主義ノ文化デアルノデアリマス。



此ノ文化ヲ人類社會ニ用ヒタモノガ即チ物質文明デアリマス。物質文明ハ飛行機爆彈デアリ、小銃大砲デアツテ、一種ノ武力文化デアリマス。歐洲人が最近等ラ此ノ武力ノ文化ヲ以テ我亞細亞ヲ壓迫シテ居ル爲、我亞細亞ハ進歩出來ナイノデアリマス、歐洲ノ文化ハ武力ヲ以テ人ヲ壓迫スル所ノ文化デアリマシテ、此ノ武力ヲ以テ人ヲ壓迫スルコトヲ中國ノ古語デハ霸道ヲ行フト言ヒマス故ニ歐洲ノ文化ハ霸道ノ文化デアリマス。然ルニ我東洋ニ於キマシテハ從來王道文化ヲ輕蔑シ、他ニ霸道文化ニ優ツタ所ノ一種ノ文化ガ存在シテ居ルノデアリマス。此ノ文化ノ本質ハ仁義道德デアリマス。此ノ仁義道德ノ文化ハ、人ヲ感化スルモノデアツテ、人ヲ壓迫スルモノデアリマセン、又人ニ德ヲ抱カセルモノデアツテ、人ニ畏レヲ抱カセルモノデアリマセン。斯ル人ニ德ヲ抱カセル文化ハ我中國ノ古語デハ之ヲ王道ト云ツテ居リマス。故ニ亞細亞ノ文化ハ王道ノ文化デアリマス。以テニ於テ物質文化ガ發達シ、霸道ガ行ハレマシテカラハ、世界各國ノ道德

ハ日々退歩シ、ノミナラズ區細距ニ於テモ亦、道德ノ非常ニ退歩シテ來々國ガ可成リ出來テ來マシタ。然レ近來吹米ノ業者ノ中デ東洋文化ニ多少ナリトモ注意シテ居ル者ハ、東洋ノ物質文化ハ、西洋ノ物質文化ニハ及バナイガ、東洋ノ道德ハ、西洋ノ道德ヨリ遙カニ高イト云フ事ヲ次請解スル機ニナツテ來マシタ。

道德ノ文化ト王道ノ文化トハ結局何レガ正義人道ニ有益デアルカ、何レガ民族及國家ニ有益デアルカト云フコトハ、諸君自ラ諒解サレタコトデアリマセウガ、之ニ付テ私ハ此處ニ一ツノ例ヲ舉ゲテ説明申ヒマセウ。今日リ五百年以前ヨリ二千年前迄一千年餘ノ期間ガアリマスガ、此ノ間中國ハ世界ニ於ケル最弱ノ國家デアリマシタ、丁度現在ノ英國及美國ト同様ノ地位ニ在リマシタ。英國モ米國モ現在ノ強盛ハ列強デアリマスガ、中ニノ昔ノ強盛ハ何デアツタノデアリマス。然レ乍ラ強盛時代ノ中ニハ、弱小民族及弱小國家ニ對シ如何ナル態度ヲ執ツタデアリマセウカ。又當時ノ弱小民族、弱小國家ハ中國ニ對シ如何ナル態度ヲ執リマシタ



デヒウカ。當時ノ弱小民族及國家ハ、何レモ中國ヲ宗主國トナシ  
 中國ニ朝貢セントスルモノハ中國ノ屬藩ヲランコトヲ欲シ、中國  
 ニ朝貢スルコトヲ以テ光榮トシ、朝貢出來ナイコトヲ恥辱トシテ  
 居々有様デアツタノデアリマス。當時中國ニ朝貢シテ居々國ハ、  
 亞細亞各國ノミナラズ、歐洲西方ノ各國迄、遠路ヲ厭ハズ朝貢シ  
 テ居々ノデアリマス。當時ノ中國ハ之等多數ノ國家、遠方ノ民族  
 ノ朝貢ニ對シ如何ナル方法ヲ用ヒタデアリマセウカ。陸海軍ノ兩  
 道ヲ用ヒテ彼等ノ朝貢ヲ強制シタデヒウカ。吾ハ中國ハ完全ニ王  
 道ヲ用ヒテ彼等ヲ感化シタノデアリマス。彼等ハ中國ニ對シテ德  
 ヲ感ジ、甘ンジテ其ノ朝貢ヲ希ツタノデアリマス。彼等ハ一度中  
 國ノ王道ノ感化ヲ受クルヤ、一代中國ニ朝貢シタノミナラズ、子  
 々孫々迄中國ニ朝貢セントシタノデアリマス。之等ノ事實ハ最近  
 ニ至ツテモ尙證據ガ有ルノデアリマス。例ヘバ印度ノ北方ニ二ツ  
 ノ小國ガ有リマス。一ツハ「ブータン」デアリ、他ハ「ネパール」  
 デアリマス。此ノ二ツノ國ハ小國デハアリマスガ、其ノ民族ハ非

常ニ強ク、又非常ニ精悍デ勇敢ニ戦ヒマス。中デモ「ネパール」  
 ノ民族ハ殊ニ勇敢デアリマシテ、現ニ英國ハ印度ヲ治メルニ當リ  
 常ニ「ネパール」民族ヲ兵士ニ採用シテ、印度ヲ服從セシメテ居  
 ル位デアリマス。又英國ハ印度ヲ治メテ之ヲ殖民地トシタ程ノ力  
 ガ有リ乍ラ「ネパール」ニ對シテハ容易ニ斯ル態度ヲ執リ得ズ、  
 毎年多額ノ補助金ヲ送り、只政治監察ノ官吏ヲ駐在セシメテ居ル  
 ニ過ギナイノデアリマス。英國ノ如キ現在世界ニ於ケル最強ノ國  
 家ガ、尙且「ネパール」ニ對シテ斯クノ如ク懇懇ナ態度ヲ執ツテ  
 居ルノデアリマス。故ニ「ネパール」モ亦亞細亞ニ於ケル一ノ強  
 國デアルト言ヘマセウ。然ルニ此ノ「ネパール」ガ現在英國ニ對  
 シテ如何ナル態度ヲ執ツテ居ルカ。英國ニ朝貢シテ居ナイ許リデ  
 ナク、却テ英國カラ補助ヲ取ツテ居ルノデアリマス。然ルニ「ネ  
 パール」ハ中國ニ對シテハ如何ナル態度ヲ執ツテ居ルカ。中國ノ  
 國際的地位ハ、現在一落千丈シテ尙英國ノ殖民地ニ及バナイ有  
 様デアリ、而モ「ネパール」カラ極メテ遠ク且兩國ノ間ニハ非常



ニ大ナル西藏ニ換シテ居リ乍ラ、「ネパール」ハ今以テ中國ヲ宗主國トシテ居ルノデアリマス。即チ民國元年ニハ西藏ヲ經由シテ朝貢シテ居リマス。其ノ後四川ノ邊界ガ交通不恒トナツタ爲、遂ニ朝貢ヲ見ナクナリマシタ。斯クノ如ク中國及英國ニ對スル「ネパール」ノ態度ハ異ツテ居リマス。諸君ハ之ヲ不思議ニ思ヒマシヤ。單ニ「ネパール」ノ中國及英國ニ對スル態度ヲ以テシテモ中國ノ東方文明ト英國ノ西方文明トヲ比較スルコトガ出來マセウ中國ハ數百年來衰微シテハ居リマスガ、然レ乍ラ文化ハ尙存在シテ居ルノデアリマス。夫レ故ニ「ネパール」ハ今以テ中國ヲ宗主國トシテ崇拜シテ居ルノデアリマス。然ルニ、英國ハ今非常ニ強大トナリ、且立派ナ物質文明ヲ持ツテ居ルニ拘ラズ、「ネパール」ハ之ニ對シ一向傾着シナイノデアリマス。之ニ依リマスト「ネパール」ハ既ニ中國ノ感化ヲ受ケタモノデアツテ、中國ノ文化ガ何ノ文化デアリ、英國ノ物質文明ハ文化デハナクテ霸道デアルト視テ居ルト云フコトガ解リマス。

今私が大亞細亞主義ヲ演シマスニ當ツテ述ベマレタ以上ノ語  
 ハ、如何ナル問題デアルカト申シマスニ、簡單ニ言ヒマスレバ、  
 ソレハ文化ノ問題デアリマス。東方ノ文化ト西方ノ文化トノ比較  
 ト衝突ノ問題デアリマス。東方ノ文化ハ王道デアリ、西方ノ文化  
 ハ霸道デアリマス。王道ハ仁義道德ヲ主張スルモノデアリ、霸道  
 ハ功利權權ヲ主張スルモノデアリマス。仁義道德ハ正義公理ニ依  
 ツテ人ヲ感化スルモノデアリ、功利權權ハ洋銃大砲ヲ以テ人ヲ壓  
 迫スルモノデアリマス。感化ヲ受ケタ國ハ、假令宗主國ガ衰微シ  
 テモ、數百年ノ後ニ至ル迄、尙其ノ徳ヲ忘レルモノデハナイト云  
 フコトハ「ネパール」ガ今日ニ於テモ尙且中國ノ感化ヲ庶幾ヒ、  
 中國ヲ宗主國トシテ崇拜セントシテ居ル事實ニ依ツテ明カデアリ  
 マス。之ニ反シテ壓迫ヲ受クレバ、假令壓迫シタ國ガ現在非常ニ  
 強盛デアラウトモ、常ニ其ノ國家ヨリ離脱セントスルモノデア  
 ルコトハ英國ニ對スル埃及及印度ノ關係ガ之ヲ示シテ居リマス。  
 即チ英國ハ埃及ヲ征服シ、印度ヲ滅シ、現在非常ニ強盛トナツテ



居リマスガ、埃及及印度ハ常ニ英國ヨリ脱シヨウトシテ居リマス。之ガ爲彼等ハ略ニ獨立運動ヲ起シテ居リマス。然レ彼等ノ獨立運動ハ、英國カラ大ナル武力ノ壓制ヲ受ケテ居リマスカラ、急ニハ成功致シマスマイ。然レ乍ラ若シモ英國ガ一度衰微シマシタナラ、埃及及印度ハ百年ヲ經タナイ中ニ、直ニ英國ノ力ヲ逐シテ獨立ノ地位ヲ恢復スルデアリマセウ。コウ申上ダレバ諸君ハ東西文化ノ優劣ガ解シナリマセウ。吾々ハ今コウイフ世界ニ立ツテ居ルノデアリマスカラ、我大亞細亞主義ヲ實現スルニハ、吾々ハ何ヲ以テ基礎トシナケレバナラナイカト云ヒマスト。夫レハ我固有ノ文化ヲ基礎トシナケレバナラナイデアリマス。固有ノ文化トハ即チ道德デアリ、仁義デアリマス。仁義道德コソハ我大亞細亞主義ノ好個ノ基礎デアリマス。斯クノ如キ好個ノ基礎ヲ持ツテ居ル吾々ガ、尙歐洲ノ科學ヲ學バントスル所以ハ以テ工業ヲ發達セシメ、武器ヲ改良セント欲スルガ爲ニ外ナリマセン。歐洲ヲ學ブノハ決シテ他國ヲ滅シタリ、他ノ民族ヲ壓迫シタリスル

コトノミチ學ブノデハナイノデアリマス。只吾々ハ學ンデ以テ自衛ヲ圖ヒントスルノデアリマス。

近來亞細亞ノ國家デ、歐洲ノ武力文化ヲ學ンデ、之ヲ完全ニコナシテ居ルノハ日本ダケデアリマス。日本ハ軍艦ノ建造操縱ニ至ルマデ、今デハ必ズシモ歐洲人ニ頼ルヲ要セス、陸軍ノ編制運用モ亦自主的ニ之ヲ行フコトガ出來ルノデアリマス。ソレ故ニ日本ハ極東ニ於ケル一個ノ完全ナル獨立國家デアリマス。我亞細亞ニハ歐洲大戰當時同盟國ノ一方ニ加入シ、敗戦スルヤ忽チ分割サレ戦後諸イ目ニ遭ヒ乍ラ、現在デハ一個ノ完全ナル獨立國家トナツタ國ガアリマス。此ノ國ガ即チ土耳其デアリマス。現在亞細亞ニハ獨立國ハ僅カニツシカアリマセン。一ハ東ノ日本デアリ、二ハ西ノ土耳其デアリマス。日本ト土耳其トハ亞細亞ニ於ケル東西ノ二個ノ大ナル障壁デアアルノデアリマス。更ニ現在デハ波斯、「アフガニスタン」、「アラビヤ」等モ歐洲ニ應ンデ立派ナ武力ヲ備ヘテ居リ、歐洲人モ政テ之等民族ヲ輕蔑シナイノデアリマス。「



ネパール」ニ至ツテハ、英國人モ尙且輕視致シマヘン。彼等ハ今ヤ立派ナ武力ヲ具ヘテ居リマス。中國ハ只今非常ニ多クノ軍隊ヲ持ツテ居リマスカラ、一度統一サルレバ非常ナ勢力トナリマヒウ吾々が大亞細亞主義ヲ説キ、亞細亞民族ノ地位ヲ恢復シヤウトスルニハ、仁義道德ヲ基礎トシテ各地ノ民族ヲ聯合シ、亞細亞全體ノ民族ガ非常ナル勢力ヲ有スル様ニシナケレバナライノデアリマス。

只歐洲人ニ對シテハ、單ニ仁義ノミヲ以テ彼等ノ感化ヲ謀ツタリ亞細亞細亞在中ノ歐洲人ニ對シテ平和裡ニ權利ノ返還ヲ求メタリスルコトハ、恰モ虎ニ食物ヲ與ヘテ其ノ皮ヲ取ラウトスル様ナモノデ、到底出來ナイ相談デアリマス。故ニ吾々バ我々ノ權利ヲ完全ニ回收シヤウトスルニハ之ヲ武力ニ訴ヘナケレバナライノデアリマス。サテ武力ト云ヘバ、日本ハ早クヨリ非常ニ完全ナル武力ヲ有シテ居リ、土耳其モ最近ハ立派ナ武力ヲ持ツテ來マシタ。又波斯、「アフガニスタン」、「アラビヤ」等ノ各民族ハ從來カ

ラ何レモ戦争ニ強イ民族デアリマス。中國四億ノ民族ハ平和ヲ愛スル民族デアリマスガ、生死ノ堺ニ立ツテハ富然奮闘シテ大ナル武力ヲ發揮スルノデアリマス。若シ全亞細亞民族ガ聯合シ、固有ノ武力ヲ以テ歐洲人ト戦ツタナラバ、必ズ勝チ決シテ敗ケルコトハ斷イノデアリマス。更ニ歐洲ト亞細亞トノ人口ヲ比較シマスレバ、中國ハ四億、印度ハ三億五千萬、緬甸、安南等ハ合計數千萬、日本ハ一國デ數千萬アリ、其他各弱少民族モ數千萬アリマスカラ、我亞細亞ノ人口ハ、全世界ノ人口ノ二分ノ一以上ヲ占メテ居ルノデアリマシテ、歐洲ノ人口ハ僅ニ四億ニ過ギナイノニ、我亞細亞全體ノ人口ハ實ニ九億デアリマス。四億ノ人間ガ九億ノ人間ヲ壓迫スルト云フコトハ、正義人道ト相容レナイ所デアリマシテ、正義人道ニ反シタル行爲ハ結局失敗スルモノデアリマス。而モ彼等四億ノ人間中ニハ、最近ニ至ツテ吾々ニ感化サレタ者スラ有ルノデアリマス。現在世界文化ノ趨勢ヲ見マスト、英國、米國、佛ニハ少數デアリマスガ、仁義道德ヲ提唱スル者ガ出テ参リマ



シタ。其他ノ野蠻國ニ於テモ亦コウシタ主張チナスモノガアリマス。之ハ即チ西洋ノ功利強權ノ文化ガ、東洋ノ仁義道德ノ文化ニ服從ヒントシテ居ルコトヲ物語ルモノデアリ、兩道ガ王道ニ服從ヒントシテ居ルコトノ證據デアリマシテ、即チ世界文化ガ日日光明ニ成ク所以ノモノデアリマス。

現在歐洲ニハ、歐洲全部ノ白人カラ排斥サレ、毒蛇猛獸デアツテ人類デハナイ様ニ思ハレ、少シハ接近サレナイ國デアリマス。我亞細亞ニモ同様ノ考ヘテ以テ居ルモノガ可成リ有リマス。然ラバ其ノ國ハ何處デアルカト云ヒマス、夫レハ豈國デアリマス。歐西亞ハ只今デハ歐洲白人ノ分家タラントシテ居ルノデアリマス。歐門ヲ何故ニソウ謂フ状態ニ在ルカ。夫レハ彼ガ王道ヲ主張シテ兩道ヲ主張ヒズ、仁義道德ヲ説イテ功利強權ヲ説カウトヒズ、極力公道ヲ主持シ、少數ヲ以テ多數ヲ壓迫スルコトニ贊成シナイカラデアリマス。歐國ノ新文化ハ我東洋古來ノ文化ニ合致スルモノデアツテ、彼等ハ東洋ト手ヲ握リ、西洋ヨリ分家シヤウトシテ居

ルノデアリマス。歐洲人ハ露國ノ新シイ主義ガ、彼等ノ主張ト合致セズ、且露國ノ主張ガ成功スルトキハ、彼等ノ正道ガ打破セラレルダラウコトヲ恐レ、露國ガ仁義正道ヲ説ク國デアアルコトニハ目モクレズ。却テ露國ハ世界ノ反逆者デアアルト認ユルノデアリマス。

サテ最後ニ、然ラバ吾々ハ結局如何ナル問題ヲ解決シヤウトシテ居ルノカト言ヒマスノニ、壓迫ヲ受ケテ居ル我亞細亞ノ民族ガ如何ニヒバ歐洲ノ強盛民族ニ對抗シ得ラレルカト言フコトデアリマシテ、簡單ニ言ヘバ、被壓迫民族ノ爲ニ其ノ不平等ヲ撤廢シヨウトシテキルノデアリマス。被壓迫民族ハ亞細亞ニ有ル許カリデナク、歐洲ニモ居ルノデアリマス。霸道ヲ行フ國ハ只ニ他洲ト外國トノ民族ヲ壓迫スルノミナラズ、自州及自國內ノ民族ヲモ、同様ニ壓迫シテ居ルノデアリマス。私大亞細亞主義ハ王道ヲ基礎トシナケレバナラナイト申上ゲタノハ、之等ノ不平等ヲ撤廢センガ爲デアリマス。米國ノ學者ハ、民衆解放ニ關スル一切ノ運動ヲ、



文化ニ反逆スルモノデアルト言ツテ居リマスカラ、吾々ノ主張ス  
ル不平等廢除ノ文化ハ、王道ニ背叛スル文化デアリ、又民衆ノ平  
等ト解放トヲ求ムル文化デアルト言ヒ得ルノデアリマス。日本民  
族ハ既ニ一面欧米ノ王道ノ文化ヲ取入レルト共ニ、他面亞細亞ノ  
王道ヲ化ノ本質ヲモ持ツテ居ルノデアリマス。今後日本ガ世界ノ  
文明ニ對シ、西洋王道ノ大トナルカ、或ハ東洋王道ノ干城トナル  
カ、夫レハ日本國民ノ慎重ニ考慮スベキコトデアリマス。

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Certified at Tokyo 23 October 1946

/s/ K. Hayashi  
Signature of Official

Witness: /s/ Nagaharu Odo

Translation Certificate.

I, Charles D. Sheldon, Chief of the Defense Language Branch, hereby certify that the foregoing translation described in the above certificate is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a correct translation and is as near as possible to the meaning of the original document.

/s/ Charles D. Sheldon

Tokyo, Japan  
Date 19th Sept. 1946